

Tamil Source  
in English Translation:  
*Reflections of the Leader*  
Quotes by Vēluppillai Pirapākaraṇ

*Translation by Peter Schalk and Ālvāppillai Vēluppillai*

Summary

*Reflections of the Leader* is an important source for the research of Tamil patriotism in connection with the attempt among militant Īlattamils, i.e. Tamil speakers of the armed resistance on the island Īlam (=Sri Lanka), to achieve violently a state formation as protection and last refuge from the Lankan Government's attacks. This Government holds on, also violently, at a centralised unitary state which cannot be reconciled with the aspirations of the Īlattamils, for first co-determination in the affairs of the state and then self-determination. As all negotiations from the 1970's onwards have stranded, both sides have decided to let short-lived cease fires be replaced by long-lived martial confrontations up to the level of total war. Both sides are concerned to push through ultimate values. The patriotism among Īlattamils under the leadership of Vēluppillai Pirapākaraṇ (1954-), leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam, comprises a complex concept of voluntary dying as central ideological theme. This theme is formulated by him among other sources in the book *Reflections of the Leader* that was issued by his organisation in 1995 and 2005. The way to the aim which is an independent nation state known as Tamilīlam passes allegedly under prevailing conditions, if the worst comes, through the voluntary death of so called Great Heroes, especially of members of the elite group of Great Heroes known as Black Tigers. They are expected to eliminate the obstacles that prevent the coming of Tamilīlam. Their making use of their lives

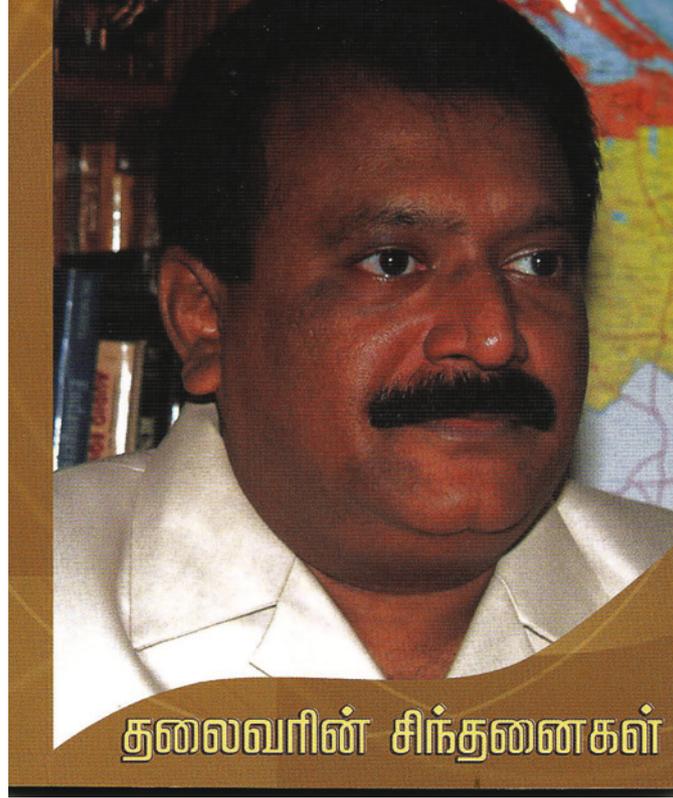
as weapons is in this source (36:5) described as self-annihilation which again is described as godly asceticism. From that is constructed *Self-annihilation as godly Asceticism* as title of this submission of the source that contains the original Tamil version of *Reflections of the Leader* and translations in German, English, Swedish and Sinhala.

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For an evaluation of the source, for explanations of key terms, and for a background in the history of ideas of this source the reader is referred to **Einführung in das Buch *Überlegungen des Leiters*** in this volume.

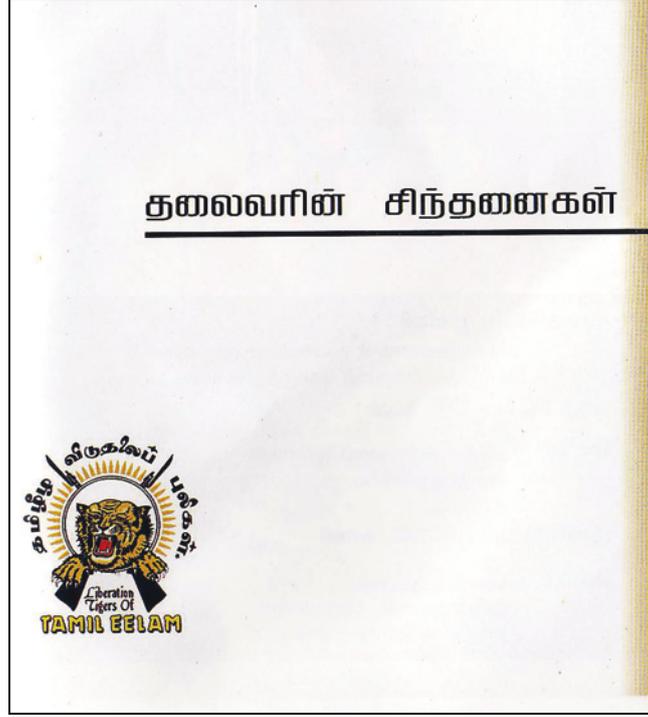
Peter Schalk

[Front Cover]



*Reflections of the Leader*

[Titlepage]

*Reflections of the Leader*

***Reflections of the Leader***

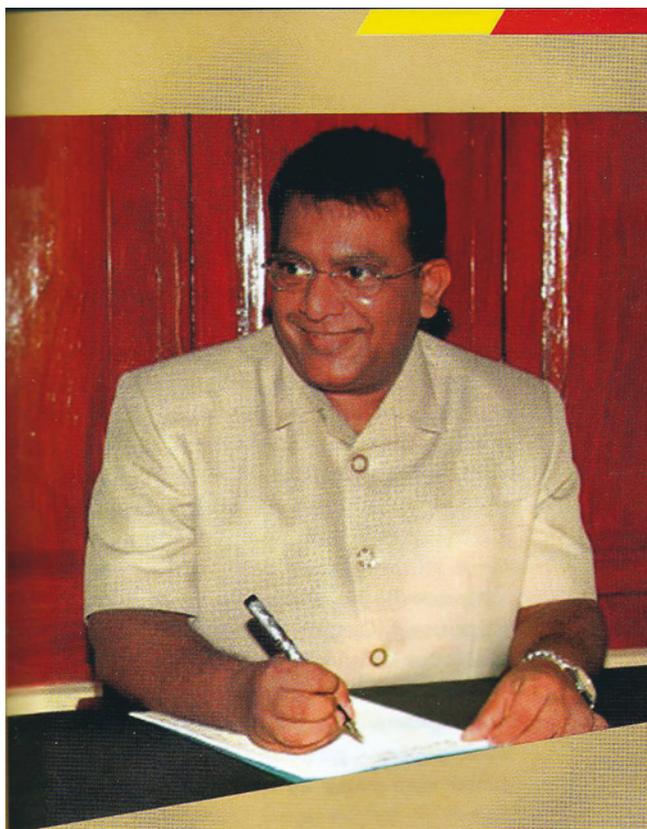
(Manual that has collected those which have budded among the reflections of the national and honoured leader).

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## [Preface by Anonymous]

page 4-7

*On the Threshold of the Portal...*

Pirapākaraṇ!

The leader given by history to the Tamils.

Pirapākaraṇ!

The leader who gave a new history to the Tamils.

The grandfather [=founding father] of a golden age when the Tamil who fell at the feet (of others) – who bowed his head (to others) – and who became a slave and fell down, rose with a roar – joined as an army – attacked and won.

The Creator of a Heroic Age when the Tamil won against all those who defeated the Tamil (earlier) and rose – the Tamil caused all those who caused the Tamil to weep to (themselves) weep aloud.

On the soil of Tamilīlam, (he is) a great leader who has sown the seed for a revolutionary armed struggle, [p. 4] who has stood at the centre of the war, who has functioned as its switch, and who has caused it (revolutionary armed struggle) to walk majestically to the peak of victory.

Pirapākaraṇ is a great man who was identified as a guerrilla leader of a small armed group not long ago, he is today accepted by the world as a national leader of an ethnic community distinguished for many ancient traditions associated with antiquity and classicism.

Pirapākaraṇ is a great leader who took up arms as a revolutionary warrior with love of his ethnic community at a period of time when the Tamil was beaten, when he suffered, when he wandered and ran (away) and when he lay shedding tears – who performed in front of our eyes, a historical miracle, when the Tamil rallied as an indefectible army, whirled around and attacked the enemy as unceasing storm and stand erect like unbending rock.

The great hero who having stood alone and tapped and awakened the national soul of the Tamils, made even the Tamils wonder (at his achievement). [p. 5]

A commander who accomplished a great achievement, comparable to none in the world – thousands and thousands of youth were shaped – with unbending discipline, with unfailing honesty, with morality not failing Tamil way of life, with untiring fighting ability, with not loosening heroism, (transforming them) with never dissipating patriotism taking up one's life – which everybody loves in excess – casually and throwing it away, and with unquenchable thirst for independence – as an inexhaustible and courageous strong army of the country.

Pirapākaraṇ means 'soul' of the Tamils, 'life' of the Tamils, 'fame' of the Tamils.

He is a wonderful human. He is a rare human. He is a miraculous being full of many surprising natures, qualities and characteristic traits.

An extra-ordinary leader who magnetizes the entire country through his handsome personality distinguished by overwhelming abilities. [p. 6]

His name has been inscribed in the list of great men of world history, who brought fame through their names to their countries and ethnic communities. Pirapākaraṇ's name is great fame to Tamilīlam and Tamil nation; (a Tamil standing with) erect head which was never there.

Having started as a servant of the Tamils, and evolving into a volunteer worker of the Tamils, as a commander of the Tamils, as a leader of the Tamils, as the strength of the Tamils, as a shield of the Tamils, as the gem-studded crown of the Tamils - a lofty pioneer for world nationalities which lie down folded and disabled due to oppression and depression - Pirapākaraṇ has become a name which goosefleshes the backbone of the earth.

This manual (contains) reflections of the great Leader.

(This is) a small collection of selected quotes; a collection of buds among his reflections in many different circumstances and many different occasions. [p. 7]

## page 8

[1] Nature is my friend. Life is my teacher of philosophy. History is my guide.

[2] Fear is the image of weakness, (fear is) comrade of timidity, the enemy of steadfastness/determination. Fear of death is the cause of every human fear. Who conquers this fear of death, conquers over himself. This person also reaches liberation from the prison of his mind.

[3] Either we like it or not, (our) struggle indeed has become our life and (our) life indeed has become our struggle.

## page 9

[1] Not the existence of man, but the action of man sets the wheel of history of the struggle in motion.

[2] I always give low value to talks; only after growing through action we should start talking.

[3] I know that a life has high value, but our rights, our independence, our honour have a higher value than life.

[4] We are not politicians. We are revolutionaries.

[5] We have sown a seed for the aim. For that (we) irrigate with the blood of our Great Heroes and raise (it). This seed having grown to a tree will make the dream of our Great Heroes true.

[6] Peace I wish from the depths of my soul. My spiritual aim is that my people should have calmness, peace and honour in their lives.

[7] The Liberation Tigers are not separate from the people. The Liberation Tigers are a people's movement. The Tigers, indeed, are the people. The people, indeed, are the Tigers.

## page 10

[1] Our people deserve to be praised, deserve to be honoured. The engagement of our people in national struggle is not ordinary. I will say that their engagement is immeasurable. Our innumerable supporters and sympathisers, staying like unripe

fruit hidden behind foliage and bearing over their shoulders the (burden of) liberation struggle, should be called Great Humans endowed with determination.

[2] Politics is not a matter of ruling over the people or of exercising power. Politics is performance of service to people, contributing to the welfare of the people.

[3] The Tamil man who lived [formerly] as slave bowing his head to blow after blow and living with shame can now raise his head with dignity. This is to the credit of the greatness of the conduct of our liberation movement.

[4] In all liberation struggles it is the common people who bathe in the fire of oppression.

[5] Even if the Tamil ethnic community lives outspread over the whole world, their national soul has awoken in Tamilīlam indeed. The national identity is born in Tamilīlam indeed. The historical environment for the formation of a separate state has appeared in Tamilīlam only.

page 11

[1] We have entrusted ourselves to our aim. This is symbolised by cyanide. As long as this cyanide hangs around the neck, we will not be scared of any force in this world.

[2] The struggle for the aim of the liberation of women is the child of fire born on the lap of our liberation movement.

[3] The victory of a war is not determined by the size of an army or the quality of armaments. Factors like unshakable determination, heroism, and desire for liberation determine victory.

[4] My heart breaks when the comrades whom I cherished with my life, the commanders who were fighting side by side with me and the warriors whom I have fostered and raised for years all fell on the battle-field. But I did not give way in grief. The losses strengthened further my resolve for my aim.

[5] In any might, there will be debility. Our victory depends on undertaking bold actions in a suitable manner after searching and finding that (debility). In this manner only a lad got the victory over the demonic and staunch Goliath.

## page 12

[1] The forms of struggle may change, but our struggle's aim will not change.

[2] In unarmed war as well as in armed war our liberation war has created world records. It has reached the peak of human gift (of oneself).

[3] The day when the Indian army set its feet on the soil of our motherland I will consider as the darkest day of our war. The intervention of the Indian army in our war can be defined as the dark chapter in our war history.

[4] The load of the liberation war we do not wish to leave to the next generation. They shall enjoy the fruit of our hard labour. It could be that our aim is not fulfilled in our lifetime. In that case we have a clear vision(ary plan) to hand over the war to the next generation.

[5] If we do not achieve independence, we must live as slaves, loose self-respect and live with bowed head, live in permanent fear and tension, and gradually die out. Therefore there is no other way for us than fight for independence.

## page 13

[1] The death of a liberation hero is no incident of normal death. That death is a historical event. It is a wonderful event that evokes a noble aim into life. In reality liberation fighter does not die. The fire of his aim which functions as his life never blows out. This fire of the aim gets hold of the others as a historic force. It taps and awakens the national soul of an ethnic community.

[2] Through the pushing of the rising for independence the wheel rolls of human history.

[3] Power alone determines the present order of the world.

[4] Whatever reforms are carried out in the economy, without deep going changes in men's mentality – in their opinion about femininity – women's equality may not be possible.

[5] The Black Tigers are the protective armours of our ethnic community. They are the eliminators of obstacles of our war path. They are burning humans that destroy the armed power of the enemy through their inner will power.

[6] An ethnic community that rebels for independence must stand on its own feet in economic life. It is a truism that only such an ethnic community can enjoy independence.

page 14

[1] In no history has been a liberation movement that has fought alone and won liberation. Only when a concentrated power of the people rises in a revolution behind the liberation movement it attains fullness and maturity as people's struggle, as a national struggle. Only in such a way is liberation possible.

2] Human personality transcends gender differences. Humanity exists beyond masculinity and femininity. This is common to human beings.

[3] Traitors are more dangerous than enemies.

[4] As long as prevails in this world injustice and slavery and as long as there are humans who live with the loss of independence there will be struggles of liberation. This is an unavoidable historical law.

[5] By spilling blood, perspiring profusely, spilling tears and by experiencing of unbearable suffering you get independence indeed as reward.

[6] A people who are united and determined about its aim create history.

[7] The guerrilla war is a form of the mass struggle.

page 15

[1] Losses and destructions are common events in a liberation struggle. We have encountered many losses and destructions and we encounter them further. But if these losses and destructions had constituted the manure for our will power, no force on earth can suppress us.

[2] We designate motherland of the Tamils, the region encompassing the Northern and Eastern Provinces which have geographical contiguity and demarcated boundaries. This region is the historical habitat of the Tamil-speaking people. This cannot be divided and made into pieces.

[3] Works of art and literature should promote humans to reflection. A revolutionary perspective should be evoked and a changing societal awakening formulated in the human mind mired in tradition, myth and many kinds of falsehoods. They demand a form of changing social awakening.

[4] When I made the decision to confront the Indian Army I have not bothered on the chances of victory or defeat: I have only reflected whether we have the determination and bravery to take up this war. An ethnic community never gives up its aim and rights for the fear of possible defeat.

page 16

[1] The Indo-Lankan Accord between India and Sri Lanka is a military agreement. The aim of this military accord is to annihilate the Tamil independence movement and its armed frontline leader, the Liberation Tigers.

[2] The abandonment (from life) of Tilipaṇ has dissolved the illusion of India (helping the Tamils) and awakened the national feeling for Tamilīlam. The non-violent struggle of Annai Pūpati became the massive form of this national uprising.

[3] I am a liberation warrior who fights for my people.

[4] Annai Pūpati has not died as an individual human being. Her abandonment (from life) climaxed as a symbol of rising of the mothers' group of Tamilīlam.

[5] The Tiger movement has never given way for the domination and pressure of the (Sinhala) army; we never bend down on our proclaimed stand.

[6] We have not cheated or betrayed anybody. But if anybody cheats or betrays us we do not hesitate in hitting back.

page 17

[1] Before words must always be deeds. By deeds alone we have got our influence. Deeds alone give a political form to our activities.

[2] A new young generation should form itself into future sculptors of our nation. A new revolutionary generation should arise as the gifted ones, intellectuals, patriots, experts in warfare, and those who excel in honesty and dignity. This generation should emerge as constructors, administrators and rulers of our country.

[3] We should create our nation as a militarily strong revolutionary society.

[4] The strength of our struggle is born out of the strong will of our warriors.

[5] Artists and literary authors should create novel and revolutionary creations to suit the needs of modern age and historical evolution. These creations should serve to strengthen our sacred liberation struggle; they should sow the seeds of social revolution.

page 18

[1] The liberation war is a blood shedding revolutionary method of politics.

[2] The sentiment for liberation functions as substance and life breath of the spirit of humanity. It is also the great force that moves the history of humanity.

[3] Only in return for death, destruction and grief as gifts can we see the paradise of independence.

[4] A life that connects war with education is today our historical need.

[5] Liberation implies a national duty. Everybody has to participate in it. The grief arising from a situation of crisis should be shared by the whole ethnic community. It should be described as our treachery to our nation if we allow the poor people at the bottom of our society alone to bear the national burden.

[6] I am proud of my people, I am proud of my nation and I am proud of my movement.

[7] Independence struggles alone are dynamism for the history of humanity.

page 19

[1] We have accomplished a great revolution in the society of women in Tamilīlam. A revolution that has not taken place before in the Tamil history took place in Tamilīlam.

[2] Artists and scholars cannot alienate themselves from a historical movement that extends in all dimensions in our national life.

[3] The liberation of women implies the achievement of liberation from governmental suppression and societal oppression and economic exploitation as well.

[4] Independence is not trading of goods through bargain; it is a holy right that is won through the spill of blood.

[5] Only one who liberates himself from his psychological desires and fears indeed in truth qualify as liberation hero.

[6] Political work implies participating in the grief and mourning of people, sharing the burdens with them and acting with plans to get rid of their difficulties.

[7] Complete political clarity and awakened feeling are necessary for a warrior.

page 20

[1] Through the intensive aspiration of the human soul arises in man the desire for independence.

[2] We need a country— our people need independence – our ethnic community should live liberated – with this fierce longing for the aim fall our Great Heroes in the Battlefield. Therefore every death of our Great Heroes is a loud announcement of the liberty of our country and occurs as heroic proclamation of our independence.

[3] The alienation of artists and scientists from the struggle of liberation ends as alienation from the people and the truth of living.

[4] Artistic and literary works shall present the facts of our fighting life. The creative artists should portray the horror of the deep – going suppression in all dimensions of the dynamics of the ethnic community in our society.

[5] If one is determined to die for the truth, even a common man can create history.

[6] Great Heroes are long-lived who do not die in time; sculptors of independence. Heroic Maravar who have departed have sown the seed for the uprising of lofty liberation of our land.

page 21

[1] Only when we share the suffering of our people, the people will unite with us.

[2] In the moment when language, art and culture prosper, reach progress and become lofty, (then) the national ethnic community reaches a solidity, reaches strength, (and) human life and societal relation attain value, the national civilisation attains its pinnacle.

[3] According to the geographic situation the protection of Tamililam is tied to the sea. Therefore we should strengthen ourselves at the expanse of the sea and disempower the dominance of the enemy over the sea. Only when we have reached the power over our sea, can we sustain the defence of the liberated area and drive away the inimical troop in the area of Tamililam.

[4] As the struggle of liberation is the armour for education, education should also stand the fortress of our struggle.

[5] Alertness (vigilance) is the first step to liberation. [See 35:3]

[6] At no time and nowhere in world history, except in our motherland, has occurred such wonderful abandonment (from life) and astonishing dedication (of life). [See 35:3]

## page 22

[1] The struggle against the oppression of male chauvinism is not a struggle against males; it is a war of opinion against the ignorance of the male chauvinism.

[2] It is my wish that a revolutionary society arises in Tamil-īlam, where women receive the same rights, are liberated from all kinds of oppression, and live with equal rights with men and in dignity.

[3] It is easy to recognize our enemy and his intention, but traitors wearing masks go around and function as marionettes of the enemy. They do not even hesitate to betray their own ethnic community due to their egoism. Our people should take care especially from these dangerous and reactionary forces.

[4] The world does not revolve around the wheel of human justice. Every country promotes its national egoism; not the moral principles like human rights and civil rights, but the economic and commercial values decide the norms of the world today.

## page 23

[1] If man and woman mutually respect the independence, equality and honour of each as well as sharing the responsibilities of family life, engage them for the development of society and live with mutual understanding, divergences of views caused by the difference of sex will disappear.

[2] Our heroic history of independence is written with the blood, (much) sweats, and tears of our Great Heroes.

[3] A people that has united around the aim and uprisen cannot be oppressed by any force.

[4] A liberation warrior should transcend the borders of his ego and dedicate (his life) totally to the struggle.

[5] In the administration of society the judiciary is essential. Those who have qualities like honesty, character, honour and discipline should administer justice.

[6] I can surely say that the fundamental reason why our struggle is marching on the road of victory in the journey of libera-

tion, triumphant after confronting so many challenges is the firmness of our aim.

page 24

[1] Our aim is to develop a new society in Tamililam where flourishes equality, justice and humanity. We cannot allow dishonest and undisciplined persons enter the administrative sphere in a social set up organized with the new aim and destroy the society.

[2] On the moral level we stand on a decisive fundament. Our aim of the struggle is just. It is in accordance with international ethics of humanity. Our people have the right of self determination. They are eligible to found a state of their own. According to international law this right cannot be rejected by anybody. [See 63:4]

[3] The war of liberation that blows as whirl of history uproots and makes the big trees of conservatism existing for years in our country fall with their roots. Ghosts of superstition residing in caves of our mentality are being expelled; in our societal world of opinion flowers a new outlook, a new alertness arises. In the societal relations a revolutionary change is taking place.

page 25

[1] The struggle of the Tamil people is a struggle for winning the right to self rule, it is a struggle to decide their own political destiny and for attaining their political independence.

[2] The heroism and determination of our warriors and more than that the support of our people gave us the courage to stand against a big power.

[3] As long as we have the trust in our principle, the determination established on this fundament of trust, and the glowing strive for liberation within us due to this determination, it is certain that our road to the aim will be successful.

[4] The individual honesty and character of our warriors – their exemplar living in discipline - these are the reasons for the respect of our people to us.

[5] The hunger for rice cannot touch (our) people's determined hunger for independence.

[6] If you are afraid of losses in war you cannot conduct (a war). Losses should be evaluated as support for progress.

page 26

[1] We are no racists and no violent war-mongers; we do not regard the Sinhala people as enemy or as opponents. We are no enemies of democratic principles. We fight only for the fundamental democratic political rights of our people.

[2] Only when national feeling has a deep hold on people, a country attains its due individual sovereignty. Only a people as ethnic community which has national sovereignty becomes qualified to establish a government.

[3] Our political aim is to build up a noble society where social justice and democratic independency flourish.

[4] Everyone of the *ĪlattamiĪ* people should turn into a liberation tiger and heroic tiger. The downtrodden Tamil ethnic community should turn into a heroic tiger ethnic community.

[5] Our warriors have given up their kin, education and pleasures of the youth and plunged into the battlefield for the aim of independence, considering even their life as of little value. It was nothing but Sinhala State terrorism that has pushed these (people) to armed struggle.

page 27

[1] We, as a national army, are carrying forward our war for the liberation of Tamil people.

[2] A hidden heroic tradition in the long glorious history of the Tamil ethnic community has been revived again.

[3] We took up arms to establish the independence and honour of our people. I want to state very clearly that that struggle will continue until that independence and honour are established.

[4] If (our) enemy knocks on the door of some rare day, we are ready to extend our hand of friendship.

[5] For the people that ask for heroic independence firmness is the powerful weapon.

[6] Suppression was imposed on our people. Until the liberation from this and the security and independence of our people are not assured, we shall not give up to make war with risen arms.

page 28

[1] Our women warriors have demonstrated through their heroic achievements that they were not inferior to men in any aspect in heroism, abandonment (from life), and in the sentiment of liberation.

[2] Wounds, which have been inflicted to our national soul by Sinhala terrorism, will never heal.

[3] No national society in this world has attained independence without spilling blood, issuing sweat, making immeasurable abandonment (from life) and confronting catastrophes.

[4] Standing alone we opposed the Indian intervention; standing alone we resisted a very big army in the world; standing alone we fought so that our fire of national independence not goes out. At the end we were victorious. The reason for our victory was our untiring determination in our mind, our heroism that did not fear death and our trust in truth and justice.

[5] We the Tamil people have a national formation. Historically we have lived as a nation. We live as a nation and shall live as a nation.

page 29

[1] Language, arts, sciences, and culture appear as pillars of the edifice of a national ethnic community. They glimmer as soul of the nation. They are the foundation of a national civilisation.

[2] An economy that is self-sufficient is essential for our national life; it is the fundament for administration of a separate state.

[3] Justice and truth are on our side; this is our strength. Injustice and untruth are on the side of the enemy; that is his weak-

ness. At the end the victors will be us, because the never destructible justice is on our side.

[4] Only because we realized that non-violence could not conquer violence, we have embraced the violent struggle.

[5] The foreign colonial penetration has damaged our indigenous economic structure.

page 30

[1] The working class can only in alliance with a liberation movement contribute to the national struggle in a reasonable way. This way will lead to dawn and liberation for the working people.

[2] The working class in Tamililam confronts on one side the exploitation of the employer and on the other side the racist oppression.

[3] Women who since long have been held in bondage in mental darkness should awaken. Awakening is the first step to their liberation.

[4] In the struggle for liberation the people shall not be only spectators, but shall change into direct participants.

[5] We will not obtain independence if we stand out, thinking that the youth are there and that they will fight and obtain Tamililam. Our national independence war cannot succeed if common people like you do not participate directly.

[6] We should be prepared for war. It is better to live fighting than to die as slaves. With this feeling of the aim, we must be prepared to take up arms.

page 31

[1] It is sure that one day Tamililam will arise. It is sure that you also, our people, will obtain release. It is sure that our country as an egalitarian society will flourish. With this hope and determination of spirit we shall without hesitating march heroically on our way for liberation.

[2] The truth is that the victory of our war is not dependent on the hand of the world, our victory is in our hands, is dependent on our strength and on our determination. Right and justice alone on our side is not enough. We need strength. We must have excellence for fighting. We must have determination without hesitation.

[3] Our society should arise as a self-sufficient one, economically dependent of itself, this is my wish. I wish a democratic way of government in which the people have the right to self-determination. In this new society should prevail an economic equality among the working people.

[4] Even when many obstacles appeared, even when much pain appeared, as long as we have trust to our principle, to the determination founded on the trust, and as long as we have a glowing strive for liberation based on this trust, it is sure that our journey to the aim will be successful.



page 33

[1] Women must awaken who have been held down for ages in darkness of the mental world with beliefs in fate, effect of karma, with what has been prescribed to them by the Laws of Manu and antiquity.

[2] Only by connecting with our liberation movement the women's group is enabled to win liberation on their road to the aim.

[3] We shall continue fighting with determination. We shall continue fighting till we have retrieved our motherland from the enemy and have established an independent Tamilīlam.

[4] It is not possible to set a time limit for a liberation struggle. Till we have reached our ultimate aim, the struggle will go on.

[5] A liberation struggle encounters many storms, faces in hostility many crises and confronts many volatile situations.

[6] The enemy is without grace, bent on war, his aim is the destruction of our motherland and the elimination of our ethnic community. We cannot expect that the doors of his heart shall open and we shall get our justice.

page 34

[1] The liberation struggle is a struggle of the people. Only if all persons living dispersed resist as a united nation and participate in the struggle, victory will be assured for us.

[2] As we are entrenched on our own strength can we stand with raised head without bending to the pressure of others.

[3] Suppressors are more intensively interested in breaking down the mental determination of the civil population than in destroying the warriors.

[4] If the women who represent the majority of our population continue to live in suppression it is difficult to take forward our liberation struggle as a national struggle.

[5] The intervention of the Indian army and the following mass destruction has been a real lesson for the people in Tamilīlam.

This lesson is that we cannot rely on foreign forces, but that we have to fight for our rights ourselves and win them.

page 35

[1] The tragedies endured by our people age after age, the sufferings they encountered as death and destruction, the tears of blood they have shed due to the heavy burden of sorrow – these don't seem to have touched the compassion of a Buddhist country. [See 56:5]

[2] I have created the Black Tigers as a strong weapon for our weak people.

[3] At no time and nowhere in world history, except in our motherland, has occurred wonderful abandonment (from life) and astonishing dedication (of life). [See 21:6]

[4] The Great Heroes who as abandoners (from life) have dedicated their own lives for the independence, honour and security of the Tamil people should be honoured for ages in the temple of our hearts.

[5] To encounter all the stormy great dangers like a mountain I needed an iron will. In these historical periods full of testing crises, the Great Heroes stood on my side as supporters like great mountains with determination that I can never forget. The unshakable determination of these aim oriented Tigers stand like pillars of our movement of independence.

page 36

[1] Our warriors will compete to embrace death, if their abandonment (from life) can bring liberation to this land and if that death can push forward this liberation struggle.

[2] It is assured that our aim for liberation will be victorious if all Tamil people participate in the struggle with nationalistic feeling that they are one ethnic community.

[3] If we become devoted to the true aim, determined and united as one mass of people, no power whatever can shake or destroy us.

[4] The death of the great heroes has been the driving force of our history, a life breath of our struggle and guiding force serving as incentive for the determination of our warriors.

[5] To be courageous to annihilate oneself for the happy living of others is godly asceticism. The godly births (being) are the Black Tigers indeed.

[6] Heroism that is not frightened even of death, the gift (of oneself) and devotion to the aim – our great heroes have no equal, I can say full of pride.

page 37

[1] The enemy has the power of arms, numerical superiority and support of other countries. We conduct a war isolated; we have no help from any other country. But the only power we have is the power of the soul.

[2] In this world is not a single country that has reached independence without spilling blood and abandoning (life).

[3] The astonishing aim-oriented life of the great heroes, their abandonment (from life), their experiencing pain, their longings, their dreams – all these overshadow the totality through which our history of war progresses.

[4] Tilipan did such a wonderful dedication(of life) that only one who loved the people and one who loved the country, only such a person could do such a great and lofty abandonment (from life).

[5] Great Heroes! By your abandonment (from life) our nationalism achieves a form; by memorialising you our determination becomes strong.

[6] The wonderful abandonment (from life) of our warriors and of the civil population in this war has been inscribed in world history as an unequalled epic of heroism.

page 38

[1] Massmedia can serve properly by communicating to the people the true situation of the struggle – observable facts – and

through promoting national awakening and the feeling for liberation, build up ideology among the people.

[2] This is the age of the Black Tigers; the time when the Tigers like thunder and flash lightening have put on the fighting gear; in this new age the war will spread on new dimensions; the Maravar who bound death in chains will write a new history. They will lit the light for the dawn of our generation.

[3] The contribution of the mass media to conduct the war of liberation into a progressive direction is very important.

[4] The abandonment (from life) by Tilīpaṇ provided a glorious manifestation of the ethical code of Gāndhi.

[5] We continue to take this form of the war forward according to a strategy by making it solid gradually as a guerrilla war step by step among the people, by extending it by the participation of the people by evolving it into a mass struggle.

[6] I can say with pride that one of the wonderful achievements of our movement is the appearance, growth and emergence of the women's wing of our army.

page 39

[1] The selfless and detached life of a liberation hero is lofty and has meaning. He determines to dedicate even his life for the lofty aim of independence.

[2] Mother Pūpati has a unique place among our abandoners (from life), who have become historical epic (heroes) in our sacred liberation struggle.

[3] A liberation fighter is not one ordinary human being who lives an ordinary human life. He is an idealist. He lives for a great aim. He lives not for himself, but for others. He lives for the well-being and liberation of others. The selfless and detached life of a liberation fighter is lofty and has meaning. He determines to dedicate even his life for the lofty aim of independence. So, liberation fighters are rare human beings; extraordinary beings.

[4] No force can destroy the determination of a national society which is bent on liberation.

page 40

[1] Great Heroes who lived for a sacred aim, who fought for that aim and who abandoned their life fighting to attain that aim are magnificent.

[2] Let us fight with determination. Truth stands as our witness. History stands as our guide.

[3] Even though many Black Tiger heroes sleep anonymously in unnamed vaults today, their wonderful feats will live as historical epics with unending fame.

[4] We have never tried to create a contradiction between the choice of dedication (of life) for liberation of homeland and the right to have education. Both are essential for the dynamic life of our society.

[5] 'Black Tiger Era' started with Captain Miller. A regiment abandoning (life) never before seen or contemplated in the world rose in Tamil $\bar{i}$ lam.

[6] Liberation war continues even today only because those who have fallen have become seeds.

page 41

[1] Death, destruction, suffering and grief are unavoidable in a liberation struggle. We should win our liberation only through great abandonment (from life) and dedication (of life).

[2] If there is going to be class unity among Tamil and Sinhala workers, Sinhala working class should recognize the right of self-determination of the Tamils.

[3] We should change our motherland, formed from wonderful abandonment (from life) of many thousands of warriors, into a lofty and advanced society.

[4] The Tamil ethnic community in the world should organize itself into a strong international force and raise their voice for (Tamil) rights for the dawn of our people.

[5] Let us continue to fight with determination. Let us continue to fight, till we recover our motherland from enemies and establish independent Tamil $\bar{i}$ lam.

[6] Tamils will never have security till the establishment of an independent country of Tamililam, with the help of a strong national army that can protect their lives and property.

page 42

[1] We extend our hand of friendship to the Sinhalese working class. We consider Sinhala workers, oppressed, crushed and exploited by the Sinhalese ruling class, as our friendly force.

[2] Today's historical need is recovering our land from enemy aggression. We cannot ignore this historical necessity.

[3] Arms alone are not important. Tactics and skilful means are important. [4] On a holy pilgrimage they went. They continued that journey of abandonment (from life) on the unwavering confidence that a new life would be born to our people who have been shedding tears. Whenever I reflect on these holy ones in my mind I get the feeling of goose-flesh.

[5] Sinhala people will understand the revolutionary nature of the independence struggle of the Tamils, only after getting the sense of awakening freed from majority racist ideology.

[6] We should unite as one people and organize as one national force to face the challenge of our enemy.

page 43

[1] Our revolutionary armed struggle serves as an example and guide to the oppressed ethnic communities and suppressed people in the third world.

[2] The Tiger movement, as a revolutionary liberation movement bent on national liberation, has introduced new tactics to suit the needs of different circumstances in different times. In addition, it has made wonderful dedication (of life) which serve as pioneers and examples for that method of struggle. These individual traits are the reasons how our liberation struggle serves as an example and guide to the oppressed world.

[3] Guerrilla mode of warfare is the best military strategy for weakening a strong enemy by stages, break away his will and destroy his armed violence.

[4] We make our enemy fully conscious that this soil will never bear the footsteps of the aggressors.

[5] Our struggle has given hope and new expectation to many suppressed and oppressed ethnic communities and serves as a guide.

page 44

[1] Our liberation movement continues a very long, difficult and crisis ridden historical journey. We faced in the course of history, challenges, tests and unexpected turning points, not faced by any other liberation movement in the world.

[2] The aim of our struggle is to build an egalitarian society, based on equality.

[3] We are carrying forward our war as a people's army of the nation for the liberation of the Tamil people.

[4] The struggle for independent Tamililam has attained today international fame as the main liberation war in Asia.

[5] Finding an end to Indian Big Power intervention is a magnificent win for our liberation struggle.

[6] We should win our liberation by fighting and shedding our blood. We have no alternative. Either we should perish as slaves or fight and live with independence. This indeed is our political fate.

page 45

[1] The Indo-Lanka Accord cannot be described as a peace pact; it is a war pact.

[2] People's aspiration for liberation cannot be destroyed by suppression. This is a truth from world history.

[3] Our people have been (like gold) purified in the smithy of Sinhala communal suppression; they have faced the extreme heat of state terrorism; they are used always to carry the cross of suffering; they live, lying down and sleeping under the shadow of death.

[4] India's statement that the Indian army fought with one hand tied to its back is ridiculous. If the Indian army with one hand tied to its back committed these cruelties on our people, (my) heart trembles to imagine how much horrors they could have committed with both their hands.

[5] I cannot pinpoint anything at any moment as having caused frustration in my life. I became very sad when some friends whom I believed and trusted as idealists became selfish opportunists.

page 46

[1] I congratulate the Tamil working class who endure with unswerving determination the burden of war on one shoulder and the financial burden on the other shoulder.

[2] I congratulate the attachment to the aim of our people who are bent on their desire of an independent and honourable life beyond death and destruction, beyond hunger and famine and beyond the pleasures of selfish life.

[3] I congratulate our people who bear like rock all the suppressive pressures of the enemy who teases like a storm.

[4] India's military intervention, expansionist policy and threats cause trouble to peace and stability of small and weak countries of South Asia.

[5] We jumped into war for self-determination and political independence only because of planned oppression of the Sinhala state.

[6] My desire is that my country should emerge as a society whose economy is self-sufficient and who can manage on its own.

page 47

[1] Arts, fine arts and culture which flourish by shedding the old and by incorporating the new bring honour to our ethnic community; it will produce a revolutionary awakening in the mentality of our people. [See 55:3]

[2] The love and attachment we have for our language, for our arts, for our culture and for our land evolve into patriotic feeling.

[3] It is not possible to find a solution to the problems of the Tamil speaking people by oppression of the ethnic community and military suppression.

[4] As long as Sinhala nation is immersed in political mud of racial hatred, we cannot expect from Sinhalese ruling class any just and reasonable solution, which can satisfy the national aspirations of the Tamils.

[5] Very cruel military dictatorial rule has been imposed on us. The plan of the enemy is to enslave the national spirit of the Tamil ethnic community through armed violence.

[6] The pillars which bear the superstructure of our nation are education, language, culture and land.

page 48

[1] I have never believed that there will be a change in the Sinhala majority racist ideology; until that change occurs, Tamils will have no justice. [See 65:4]

[2] The problem of (dis-)armament will solve itself if realist external factors for the origin and development of armed struggle were investigated and meaningful steps are taken to remove those factors.

[3] Sinhala nation and the international community cannot just ignore the rising voice of our ethnic community which is like the murmur of the angry earthquake.

[4] The fighting capacity of a nation weakens when frustration, tiredness, confusion and hopelessness emerge among the people.

[5] I value arts and literature. I respect artists and creators of literature. My opinion is that arts should be created not for arts' sake but for the sake of people.

[6] Our people should live with independence, honour and security. We have to fight indeed if this aim were to be realized. We have indeed to shed blood.

## page 49

[1] Even an ordinary human being can create history if he is determined to die for truth.

[2] We are ready to face any new challenge as long as powers of people stand behind us like a mountain.

[3] Colonel Kitṭu is an individual (with) history; he is the impression (indentation) of an era in our long and unceasing storm of liberation struggle.

[4] Liberation struggle is a battle-field where blood is shed.

[5] I will say with certainty that the fundamental reason for our struggle to successfully face so many challenges and continue victorious procession in our journey of liberation is determination in aim.

[6] In the designation Black Tiger, we mean blackness to denote will-power and determination. In another dimension, it can denote darkness. It will imply unseen, puzzling and secret nature and action. So, the expression Black Tiger is a deep metaphor which implies many meanings.

## page 50

[1] Our motherland should get liberation. Chains of slavery which bind us should be broken. Our people should live with independence, honour and security. If this aim were to succeed, we should fight indeed; should shed blood indeed.

[2] Only artistic and literary creations which inspire feeling of awakening, feeling of resistance and feeling for liberation in our people will strengthen our war for aim. Only these artistic and literary creations will strengthen national resistance.

[3] I praise also the parents who generated Great Heroes who were the sons of the soil. Your children loved the independence of their motherland much more than their own life. You, (parents), should be definitely proud for having generated these lofty beings for a sacred aim. Your children are not dead; they have become history.

[4] Only when women awaken and rise to fight for their own liberation and for a national liberation of the land, that struggle will attain completion as national struggle.

page 51

[1] There cannot be a time limit or pre-plan for a liberation struggle.

[2] India might have learnt through this war (India-Tigers) the lesson that however strong the military power might be, it could not forcefully impose anything against the wish of a people's ethnic community.

[3] Great Heroes are great idealists; they loved the aim which they had embraced much more than their life; they who have defined liberation of the people as the aim in their mind and as the single-minded devotion of their life; they perished for this aim indeed.

[4] A singular maturity of mind is necessary to study a problem and to give a judgement. An honest outlook transcending selfishness, likes and dislikes of the one and feelings, bonds and passions is necessary.

[5] Our war heroes fought with iron-like will for the aim, with a heart which could endure anything and heroism not afraid of death. They embraced heroic death in the battle-field.

[6] Administration of justice is the main root of a strong country and disciplined social organization.

page 52

[1] We should not approach people like early politicians; we should approach them differently; we should explain the real situation. We should not give false and impractical promises. We should explain to people the reason we fight, the basis of the policy for our fight, and the problems faced by us. People will trust us only when we explain the real situation. (From an address to warriors).

[2] Simplicity comes into being as the topmost quality of wisdom. Simplicity emerges as good quality, devoid of selfishness and pride. This simplicity makes one a handsome man.

[3] Only if we were independent humans, having got the right to decide our fate by ourselves, and have got sovereignty, we can push to a higher stage of development of all social organizations including education.

[4] Only from youth can a man be raised fully. When I say fully what I imply is full human development including knowledge, capability and moral values. [See 58:3]

page 53

[1] To resist and to lead the army in a big, long and hard battle, strenuous physical and mental exercises are indispensable. At the same time, knowing the strength and the weakness of the enemy, suitable tactics needed to defeat him should be formulated. It is not enough to have exercises and tactics; courage to implement it is needed.

[2] In our long history, our language, arts and culture have their roots deeply entrenched in our soil. They stand as the foundation of our national life.

[3] Our liberation movement has created an innovative and revolutionary woman.

[4] It is my opinion that the carrying forward of a social revolution should include cultural renaissance.

[5] Only when culture reaches a high point an ethnic community becomes great; human life becomes worthy; humanitarianism gets developed.

[6] This is the true motto of war: Go, Defeat and Win.

page 54

[1] Our victory indeed is dependent on the destruction of the enemy. We will go on losing our lives till our enemy soldier who goes on shooting at us is felled. So go fast into enemy fortifica-

tions; kill enemies as quickly as possible; get victory through that.

[2] Dynamism of life moves as breath of Time. Arts and literature which portray critically that time and human sufferings and achievements evolving as that life are lofty.

[3] Victory is certain if all the three – exercise – tactics – courage – are found together in a regiment.

[4] Every minute of the warrior engaged in spying work is full of danger; there is no guarantee for life. We have lost so many wonderful warriors during this assignment. We are able to win great victories in battlefields only as fruits of this dedication (of life).

[5] Our culture is the life of our nation; the soul of our ethnic community.

page 55

[1] Attack plans are formulated on the basis of information supplied by warriors who engage in very difficult, very clever and full of danger spying; possible to conduct attacks successfully. We were able to wage a great battle and win at Pūnakari only through the courageous achievements of spy soldiers.

[2] Life – from the land where an artist was born, from which was his environment and from time when he lived – becomes the subject of his creation. An excellent artist is one who creates an art object, having as source objective realities of life.

[3] Arts, fine arts and culture which flourish by shedding the old and by incorporating the new bring honour to our ethnic community; it will produce a revolutionary awakening in the mentality of our people. [See 47:1]

[4] We should identify and get rid of reactionary qualities, customs and ideologies which have penetrated our social life in the guise of culture.

[5] A nation gets its peculiar and particular personality when patriotic feeling grips people deeply.

## page 56

[1] Renaissance of culture and cultural revolution are necessary for culture to become lofty.

[2] The determination of people, international support and besides, environments pave the way for the victory of a liberation struggle.

[3] Independence gives meaning to human life; gives fullness.

[4] It is the worker who creates the material world; he fulfils the basic needs of human life.

[5] The tragedies endured by our people age after age, the sufferings they encountered as death and destruction, the tears of blood they have shed due to the heavy burden of sorrow - these don't seem to have touched the compassion of a Buddhist country. [See 35:1]

[6] We carry arms for the sake of dharma, for self-respect and for independence. People understand our journey for aim and our lofty abandonment(from life) for that aim. That is why they embrace us.

## page 57

[1] Hands which work are hands which enable human life to exist.

[2] Only women who awaken and rise can emerge as a fighting force.

[3] Only if social justice were properly observed, society can attain a lofty state.

[4] Without independence, human life is meaningless.

[5] It is not possible to describe in writing the difficulties, the obstacles and the sufferings faced by our liberation fighters in the long, difficult and dangerous Tamilīlam war.

[6] Work power of working people is indeed the living power of a nation.

[7] Sinhala majority racist ideology has been trying for a long time to take away the fundamental right to education and destroy the field of education of Tamilīlam.

page 58

[1] If we want to build national unity and cohesion of the ethnic group on a strong foundation, we should get rid of hierarchies among us; social conflicts should be removed.

[2] As Tamils, it is our tradition – our great cultural trait - to praise the cultured and honour the learned.

[3] Full development is possible only from youth/childhood. When saying full development, I mean ideal human development encompassing wisdom, ability and elements of virtue. [See 52:4]

[4] Great Heroes Day is not our national day of mourning. It is not a day of grief when we are afflicted and shed tears. Today is a day of national uprising; it is a revolutionary day when our nation becomes determined in seeking independence.

[5] Great Heroes fall, with energetic idealistic fervour, in the battle-field with (ideals like) ‘we want a country’, ‘our people want liberation’ and ‘our ethnic community wants to live with independence’. So, the death of each of our Great Heroes happens as a drum beat of the heroic independence proclamation of liberation of our country.

page 59

[1] Education is basic to the life and development of our ethnic community; it is the foundation to the progress of our society. Enemy is attempting to destroy for a long time our educational advancement. Due to this, education of the Tamils has been adversely affected deplorably.

[2] No country and no society can be said to have obtained full social liberation, if it has not broken and thrown away the chains of female slavery.

[3] It is women’s liberation that completes social liberation; a society of people which can enable women to live with independence, honour and equality; that society can attain a lofty state of high culture.

[4] Our national economy should find self-sufficiency, depending on the resources of our nation.

[5] Our struggle does not have just national liberation as our aim; we are fighting with the aim of social liberation in addition to national liberation.

page 60

[1] Professor Turairācā (Thurairajah) is a rare human being. He had purity and honesty in his heart; never selfish; lived with common good as his goal. Simplicity is his beautiful greatness. Among our intellectuals, given by the earth, he is a wonder. He loved deeply this land and people; love of humanity has bound him tightly to people; standing together with people, he also bore the cross of suffering of the people.

[2] Our struggle for the right of self-determination has as its aim the establishment of an independent state of Tamilīlam. To establish this independent state, it is essential to have a self-sufficient economic structure.

[3] Simplicity is born as the highest fruit of wisdom; simplicity appears devoid of selfishness and pride. This simplicity makes one a handsome man; a cultured man.

[4] Great Heroes die for a true aim. Their death is not an occurrence of ordinary death; it is as a spiritual call of national liberation that the deaths of Great Heroes occur.

page 61

[1] Student society should understand the high visions and aims of Tamilīlam national liberation struggle. Teacher society should develop this understanding and try to rouse national awakening among students.

[2] As a national liberation movement, we carry on the struggle devising progressive policies, thinking of the good of the country and the good life of our people. Only when people love those policies, having been determined on implementing them and participate in the struggle, struggle can go along the path of victory.

[3] Economic liberation is tied to our aim of political liberation. The country which we are going to establish should be so

founded as not to be dependent but could stand on its legs and develop; we should build up the foundation for that.

[4] Women's liberation occupies a prominent place in our concept of social liberation.

[5] We have unassailable trust and clarity that an independent state of Tamil̄lam is the ultimate and firm solution for the national ethnic problem of the Tamil people. Not only our enemy but the entire world knows our stand.

page 62

[1] Our people were forced to bear unbearable burdens due to economic blockade. Yet, because of this great burden, a new awakening did not fail to appear among our people. The effect produced by bans, the shortfall that arose from that, and the needs which arose from that shortfall altogether made our people realize the necessity and importance of self-dependent economy.

[2] Agriculture and industry are the foundations of our economic superstructure; basics for self-sufficient economic life.

[3] National liberation is a general aim – a national aim – indicating the liberation and awakening of all. Only when all participate in this aim, the independence movement of the Tamils will emerge as a strong movement.

[4] We should stand firm in our struggle aim, as justice is on our side, on the basis of law, on the basis of human dharma and on the basis of truth. Only people who stand firm in their aim and fight till the last will win independence.

page 63

[1] The necessary first step for social change is social awakening.

[2] Tamil̄lam is a fertile land; country full of many resources. It has water resources, land resources and human labour creative resources that can lead to the path of development. We should identify these resources which have been given to us as gift of nature and bring them to maximum use. We should increase

production on the basis of expert planning, to fulfil the needs of the people.

[3] Only social reforms which have popular support and which are for the uplift of the people, will stand permanent.

[4] Morally, we are on a firm foundation. The aim of our struggle is just. It fits in the international human dharma. Our people have a right to self-determination. They have a right to establish an independent Government. Nobody can reject this right on the basis of international law. [See 24:2]

page 64

[1] The victory of our struggle does not depend in the hands of the world; our victory depends in our hands, in our strength and in our determination. We should have strength; should have the ability to fight and should have unwavering determination.

[2] There is no history that any liberation movement won liberation, standing alone and isolated from the people. That is not a practical matter.

[3] Liberation becomes possible only when people march united behind a liberation movement, love the aim of that movement and take part in the struggle.

[4] It is oppressed people who should fight against oppression. It is people who suffer injustice who should come forward to end injustice.

[5] Oppression of women is a complicated social problem; social cruelty that has deep entrenched roots in our cultural life from antiquity. Our movement is determined to throw out this social injustice root and branch.

page 65

[1] It is women who should raise the flag of war and fight against women slavery.

[2] Only by making fundamental changes in social relations, we can get rid of oppressive forms prevalent in society and establish firmly equality and social justice.

[3] From the very beginning till today, Tamil struggle follows the path of dharma. The struggle initiated by the Tamils – whether in the form of non-violent struggle or as an armed struggle – has been directed according to the tenets of dharma. This moral foundation serves as the spiritual strength of our struggle.

[4] I never believed that there will be a change of Sinhala majority racist ideology. The hardliner stance of Sinhala majority racist ideology has opened only one path of an independent country for Tamililam people. We have no other way except to go along that path. [See 48:1]

page 66

[1] We are not unaware of the Himalayan obstacles in attaining our aim of the separate state of Tamililam. Besides, not that we don't know which and which forces will act how and how against this aim. We do not stay without expecting how the domination aspirations of the regional big power and the strategic aims of world big powers will cause interventions. Whenever these challenges arose, we never failed to confront them with courage. Even when we were pushed to the fringe of destruction, we never gave up on our declared policy. We have not been shaken even by violent storms of powerful forces.

[2] If our people can obtain justice through peaceful methods, we will welcome it.

[3] This world which raises its voice for human rights, human justice and peace, should raise its voice on behalf of our people, who ask for rights, who ask for justice and who adopts a peaceful mode in demanding a solution. This is the moral duty of the world today.

[4] Liberation is an entry into fire; a long journey swimming away in rivers of fire; a jumping into the fire of abandonment (from life). Great Heroes are those who have given their lives to this sacrifice for liberation.

## page 67

[1] The terrific dance of unceasing storms of oppression has pushed us to the path of liberation. As a result of unbearable pressures of genocide, we have made a commitment. We have decided that we should determine our fate. We have decided to live as humans who have got liberation.

[2] Thousands and thousands of camāti stones also, planted in this earth symbolize liberation. The sacred pictures of Great Heroes which we meet in streets, junctions and walls also, appear to us as martyrs for liberation.

[3] We did not choose our aim of liberation simple minded. It is history that forced us to take it in our hand. History has not left us any other option except asking for independence.

[4] Heroic tradition which died among the Tamils long ago has taken rebirth again; a storm arose dispelling the silence of slavery. Tamils who were crushed like fallen leaves rose and stood erect like a rock; Tamil nation which had been bound in chains and which has fallen asleep for a very long time has awakened. Our Great Heroes are the breath of this national awakening.

## page 68

[1] When our people are mass murdered by Sinhala racist *rākṣasas*, the whole world may regret; may express condemnation; may shed tears. But we should realize that protecting our people and winning their independence is our great responsibility as liberation warriors.

[2] In any freedom struggle, enemy, because of frustration, never hesitates to take fierce revenge on masses.

[3] We prefer to die with honour rather than being caught alive in the hands of enemy.

[4] Our country has given invaluable great price for liberation; river of blood has flowed in our land for liberation; this land has turned into a battlefield for liberation; our heroes are still dying today for liberation.

[5] If our people are to be protected from genocide and our national independence (struggle) has to be taken forward, the en-

emy forces of aggression in our motherland should be driven out. This achievement is dependent on sustaining planned armed struggle and unanimous participation of our people.

page 69

[1] It is our aim to live with peace, with independence, with honour and with security in our mother land, our own land which has become ours historically. This is our national aspiration.

[2] In truth, racist, fanatic leaders of the Sinhalese ruling class should take responsibility for enormous loss of life among our people and their loss of property.

[3] We are fighting for a lofty aim. Working and living for that aim gives us full spiritual satisfaction.

[4] I entered politics as an armed revolutionary.

[5] The Sinhala army cannot destroy firmness of mind and determination of the Liberation Tigers. We possess immense dharmic strength, feeling for abandonment (from life) and attachment to lofty aim.

[6] We have firmness of mind, trust and determination to fight ourselves and win our independence.

page 70

[1] There should be no authoritarianism in the field of arts; if there is, arts will not develop.

[2] It is we who laid the foundation for armed revolutionary movement in the soil of Tamiḷiḷam. Our movement that arose as the symbol of the heroic tradition of the Tamils expanded and developed into a revolutionary liberation force which creates history.

[3] The Constitution that is current in Sri Lanka has always continued to impose the domination of the majority upon the minority.

[4] 'Separatism' is a wrong concept. This cannot be applied to our struggle. We are fighting for national liberation on the basis of the right of self-determination of our ethnic community.

[5] For the development of yet to be established Tamilīlam, I do not have trust in arms alone; I am very keen that there should be development in all fields.

page 71

[1] In the history of Tamils one thousand years ago, mothers from home – women – bid farewell to men who went for war, 'Son, go forward! Come back with victory!' In today's history of the Tamils one thousand years later, I, on behalf of all mothers, bid farewell to you, women, who go for war, 'Daughter, go forward! Come back with victory!'

[2] History is not a divine force outside man. It is not the meaning of an aphorism that determines the fate of man. History is an expression of the dynamism of man. Man creates history. Man also determines his own fate.

[3] For the liberation of the motherland, many thousands of tiger heroes have battled and fell. We have buried those heroes by opening the breast of our heroic earth. They have not disappeared as lifeless corpses inside land. We have buried them as seeds of liberation in the lap of our mother. Mother history has embraced them. Many thousands of individual lives have entered the womb of history. Those lives have become the foetus, and have assumed a shape in course of time. They assume the form of independence of the nation. As the child of history, that independent nation called Tamilīlam will be born soon.

page 72

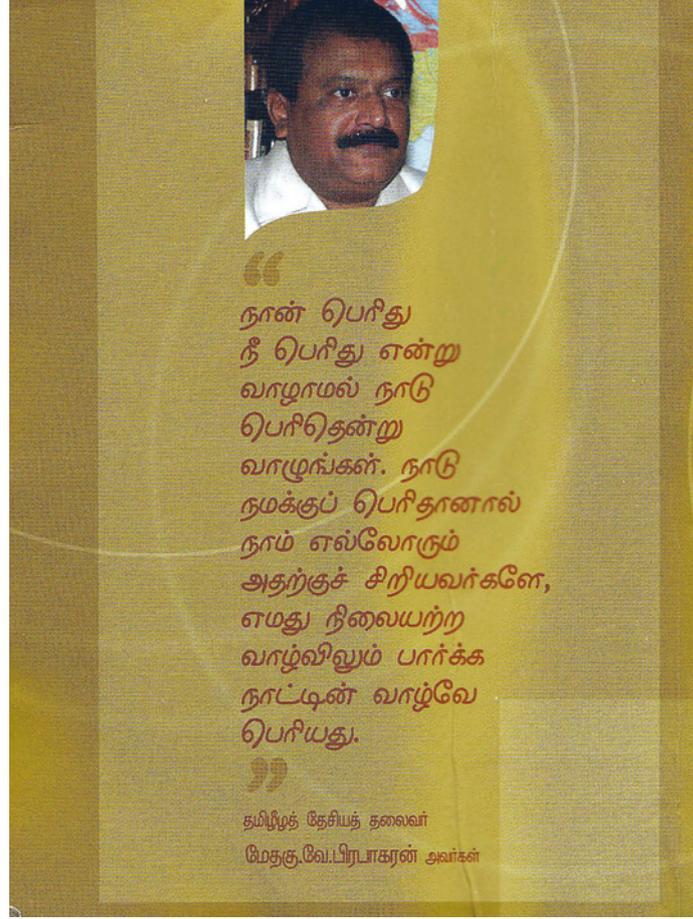
[1] The pillars that bear the superstructure of our ethnic community are education, language, culture and land. The enemy is trying to demolish these pillars. His aim is to destroy the individuality of the ethnic community.

[2] We don't believe that the Sinhala Buddhist majority racist ideology that has been growing monstrously in all levels of so-

cial structure of south Ilaṅkai will embrace Tamil people with compassion. If the Sinhalese country do not come out of racist ideology and continue oppression of the Tamils, we have no alternative but to separate and establish a separate Tamilīlam.

[3] What do we demand? Why are we fighting? We want to live with peace and honour and independence from others in our land, historically our habitat, and our homeland where we were born and where we grew up. We are also humans; a human society with fundamental human rights. We are a separate ethnic community with a separate cultural life and history. We demand that we should be accepted as a human society with distinctive characteristics. We have the right to decide our political life by ourselves. On the basis of this right, we like to establish a system of government where we rule ourselves.

## [Back Cover]



May you live thinking ‘the country is great’ and not ‘I am great or you are great’. If we accept that the country is great, all of us are smaller than that. The life of the country is greater than our impermanent lives.

The national leader of Tamilīlam,  
 the honourable Vē. Pirapākaraṇ.